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/footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the complaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance, and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

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7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

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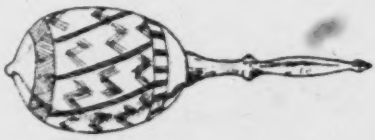
755 [533] [534] often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsã-ga), regarded as a magic instrument.



[192] Maracá (yaxsã-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

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23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the foundation of the church was buried a malefic cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirã-tapúya Pajé of Umurutinga.

756 731 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses, epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[1] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word ***kebéwa***, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was ***pamíwa*** (first people). They also offered ***pwãnwa*** (people), and then referred to other tribes as ***apépwãnwa*** (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[1] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.